

woman, and child who is working today to pay for programs that we insist on spending their money for even though they are not even around to be consulted, they are not being asked, and they may not even know that they are being taxed without representation. Because, indeed, we just continue to borrow money and say, "You pay for it." This budget says, "We'll keep borrowing money. Kids cannot complain anyway. Children cannot vote anyway. Children are not even going to be heard on this budget. But we are going to keep on taxing them by taking away their standard of living, by making them have to work ever harder and ever longer to pay for this budget and the programs that we refuse to restrain, reform, make relevant, or get rid of duplication."

This budget says the Government of the United States can continue to grow. Our responsibility to millions of Americans will continue. This budget says, make Medicare solvent. This budget says we want Medicare not only for the current seniors but for seniors yet to join and need it for their health care. This budget says we want to help the poor in our States who need health care because we are going to have a program that can be sustained, that we can afford.

This budget says to keep on paying for a Medicaid Program that we cannot afford. Sooner or later, 2, 3, or 4 years from now, we will have to say to the poor people that get Medicaid, "We can't afford it anymore."

This budget says start fixing it right now.

So, fellow Senators, let me suggest that we hear a lot about our senior citizens. And we say to them, "When all of this is over, you will have a Medicare Program. It will be as good or better than the one you have now."

We say to the poor, who are getting health care from Medicaid, "You will have a program and it will be better than the one now." And, yes, we will say in one loud voice, "There is a future with an increased standard of living and opportunity," if you adopt this budget, the Republican budget, and fail to adopt the President's budget which is pending before us today.

Many comments have been made today about various programs. We do not have an opportunity to answer right in the middle of these speeches, but before you pass judgment on education and what reforms we have recommended on Medicare, Medicaid, and on the earned-income tax credit—which, incidentally, will grow at 40 percent while some are talking about it being cut—wait for the details. We will discuss them one by one with the American people.

But, for now, we have an opportunity to reject a status quo budget, a budget of the past, and set in motion the budget of the future.

I yield to Senator STEVENS, who wants to make a unanimous-consent request.

I yield to the majority leader whatever time I might have remaining.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that our guests, who are members of the British-American Parliamentary Group, be permitted to remain on the floor during the period of this coming vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STEVENS. I want to introduce to the Senate the Right Honorable John MacGregor, who is the chairman of the British group; Derek Conway, a Member of Parliament; the Right Honorable Sir John Cope, a Member of Parliament; the Right Honorable Lord Rees, who is Queen's Counsel; Joe Benton, a Member of Parliament; Judith Church, a Member of Parliament; Roger Godsiff, a Member of Parliament; and Roy Hughes, a Member of Parliament.

All of these people are guests for this weekend for conferences on matters of mutual concern to the British Government and our Government.

Please welcome them.

Thank you.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET

The Senate continued with the consideration of the concurrent resolution.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may use 5 minutes of my leader's time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, first let me quote from what I consider to be a fairly reliable source.

The budget which came from the President said, "I've given up; that as long as I am President of the United States there will never be a balanced budget." That is an astonishing statement.

That quote came from former Senator Paul Tsongas, Democrat of Massachusetts, cochairman of the bipartisan antideficit Concord Coalition.

Another quote from our former colleague, Senator Tsongas:

Let me say as a Democrat it's very easy for Democrats to poke fun at what these two people [Senator PETE DOMENICI and Representative JOHN KASICH] are doing because, unlike our party, they've decided to really address this issue. And the fact is, they're prepared to put a balanced budget amendment on the table. The balanced budget amendment died because of the Democrats—not because of the Republicans, not because of the vote in the Senate, and we Democrats are equally responsible to our kids.

That was not a statement by BOB DOLE or anybody on this side of the aisle. That was a statement by Senator Paul Tsongas, who used to grace the Senate Chamber. He was seated on the

other side of the aisle. I think he speaks volumes in just these two statements.

Along with Senator DOMENICI, I was on the House floor yesterday for that historic vote when they adopted the resolution that will put us on a path for a balanced budget by the year 2002.

It was a very exciting moment, and we hope to repeat that moment in the Senate sometime in the early afternoon next Wednesday.

We will be here late, late, late Monday night and late, late, late Tuesday night, so we can finish sometime mid-afternoon on Wednesday.

After the vote in the House yesterday, the President issued a statement, saying, "There is a right way and a wrong way" to reduce the deficit, and the House plan was "The wrong way."

Americans have a right to ask, if the House plan was the "wrong way" and if the Senate budget resolution is the "wrong way," then just what does President Clinton define as the "right way" to reduce the deficit?

He would not even let us save \$10 billion in the rescission package. He threatened to veto that because it does not meet his standards of higher spending.

Well, the only evidence we have of what he believes is the right way is what he proposed, and that is the question now before us.

As Senator DOMENICI said, he asked if any Democrats wished to offer the President's budget as an amendment and they declined, so he did it to make a point. The point is the President does not have a plan, a credible plan. And the point is, the Democrats do not have a credible plan.

Their plan is to attack Republicans, attack Republicans, attack Republicans—we are out there cutting Medicare; cutting everything to help the rich. That effort has been tried for years. It is called class warfare. It was tried in 1994—and we liked the results. And maybe it will be tried again in 1996.

I assume the President was serious about his budget plan when he proposed it. We learned a number of things about what the President apparently believes is "right."

The President believes that, as Senator Tsongas said, the status quo is right.

The President believes it is right to take no action and let the deficit continue, \$200 billion a year as far as the eye can see, well into the next century.

The President believes it is right to allow entitlement spending to consume 57 percent of total spending by the year 2000.

The President believes it is right to ignore his own trustees' warning of the impending bankruptcy of the Medicare Trust Fund, and to take absolutely no action to preserve, improve, and protect Medicare.

And, Mr. President, I have a suspicion of something else the President has proven he believes is right. He said

yesterday he is "Eager to work with Congress" to reduce the deficit, and since his budget refused to do that by reducing the growth of Government spending, that can leave only one possible answer: Tax increases; tax increases.

Are we going to be told by the President, "Well, we have to balance the budget. This is the wrong way. The right way is to do what I did in 1993, have a big, big \$255 billion tax increase"? I have not heard any other options. We have to conclude something.

The only conclusion I can reach is the President does not want to balance the budget, does not want to cut spending, does not want to preserve, protect and improve Medicare. So it seems to me we have been waiting now 11 days since we proposed our balanced budget plan. We have not heard a word from anybody on the other side of the aisle. We have not heard a word from the President, and the deficit has increased \$4.9 billion since we submitted our balanced budget plan.

Is our plan perfect? No, but it is an honest effort to transform Government to make it smaller, to make it smarter, to make it more sensitive, to make it more responsive, to make it less expensive and to reverse the 40-year tide of power to the Federal Government.

Let me say, we look forward to next week. I guess you could say we are prepared to make the tough decisions, the President will not make any decision. That is a clear difference in party philosophy: Do not make any decisions, come to the floor and complain about what happens to senior citizens, children, veterans, farmers and everybody else, but do not worry about the next generation, do not worry about your grandchildren, do not worry about your young children. It will all be taken care of by red ink, as the Senator from Maine, Senator SNOWE, just pointed out.

It seems to me that if we want status quo policies, I guess we can have those, if the Democrats prevail. But what we need to do right now is defeat the President's budget and then have serious debate on the balanced budget proposed by the distinguished Senator from New Mexico, Senator DOMENICI. It is not because it is good political theater, as some have suggested, but I think it is time to do the right thing.

I think the President, in his inaugural address, used the word "change" 11 times. Apparently he is out of change. He does not want any more change. He wants the status quo: "Do not cut farm subsidies, do not do this, do not do that, do not cut anything until after I am reelected in 1996."

I do not believe that will sell. I believe the American people are ready—they have been ready for leadership on the budget. We have had a lot of leadership on the other side over the years on the budget, and I am still hopeful we will still have leadership on the other side on the deficit.

We ought to be in this together. But this is the first step. This is the first

vote. This is a defining vote, and I urge my colleagues to vote against the President's budget.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO GREET VISITING PARLIAMENTARIANS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the announcement of the results of this vote that the Senate stand in recess for 3 minutes in order that Members of the Senate may greet the parliamentarians who are on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET

The Senate continued with the consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 10:55 a.m. having arrived, the Senate will now proceed to vote on amendment No. 1111. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from California [Mrs. BOXER] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHELBY). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 0, nays 99, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 172 Leg.]

NAYS—99

Abraham	Feinstein	Lugar
Akaka	Ford	Mack
Ashcroft	Frist	McCain
Baucus	Glenn	McConnell
Bennett	Gorton	Mikulski
Biden	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Bingaman	Gramm	Moynihan
Bond	Grams	Murkowski
Bradley	Grassley	Murray
Breaux	Gregg	Nickles
Brown	Harkin	Nunn
Bryan	Hatch	Packwood
Bumpers	Hatfield	Pell
Burns	Heflin	Pressler
Byrd	Helms	Pryor
Campbell	Hollings	Reid
Chafee	Hutchison	Robb
Coats	Inhofe	Rockefeller
Cochran	Inouye	Roth
Cohen	Jeffords	Santorum
Conrad	Johnston	Sarbanes
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Shelby
Craig	Kempthorne	Simon
D'Amato	Kennedy	Simpson
Daschle	Kerrey	Smith
DeWine	Kerry	Snowe
Dodd	Kohl	Specter
Dole	Kyl	Stevens
Domenici	Lautenberg	Thomas
Dorgan	Leahy	Thompson
Exon	Levin	Thurmond
Faircloth	Lieberman	Warner
Feingold	Lott	Wellstone

NOT VOTING—1

Boxer

So the amendment (No. 1111) was rejected.

DEFENSE AND BUDGET ISSUES

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes off the bill to speak on the budget issue and the defense issue.

Mr. President, next week some time, I presume it would be Senators from both sides of the aisle, but I am sure it will be led by some Senator from my side of the aisle, we will discuss the issue of increasing the Senate Budget Committee's numbers for defense.

I do not want to speak directly to that point, but I want to set the stage for my position that I think is very unwise to do that. I will want to say in connection with some of the remarks I am going to say that there is an article in the Washington Post today on the Federal page where it refers to Senator GLENN, and I agree totally with Senator GLENN.

He was holding a hearing on the bad accounting practices of the Defense Department. It refers to Senator GLENN this way:

GLENN, who held hearings this week on the subject, lamented the fact that while his colleagues worry about budgetary restraints, so few of them have been interested in the Pentagon's wasteful financial practices.

Senator GLENN spoke about the wasteful financial practices. I have spoken on that subject many times. I thank Senator GLENN for his leadership.

I want to take a few moments to express concern about a new policy that is being pushed by the comptroller at the Department of Defense, Mr. John Hamre. I think, basically, Mr. Hamre is trying to do a lot of good but he is running into a cement wall on many of the things he is trying to accomplish.

His plan undermines the case for pushing up the defense budget. Mr. Hamre is proposing just to write off—just write off—billions of dollars of unmatched disbursements. Now, unmatched disbursements are expenditures that he says he cannot link to supporting documentation, so he is really ready to throw in the towel and to write them off the books.

The Armed Services Committee held hearings, and I refer to Senator GLENN on this and related matters. The defense appropriations subcommittee is going to hold similar hearings next Tuesday.

Not being a member of either committee, I am unable to participate in those discussions.

But because of my intense interest in the subject, the chairman of the Defense Subcommittee, my good friend Senator TED STEVENS, invited me to submit a statement for the record.

So, I would now like to share my thoughts on this issue with my colleagues.

I think the issue has a direct bearing on the proposal to pump up the defense budget, which will be an issue next week, I think.

I am deeply troubled by Mr. Hamre's proposal.